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SUBJECT: CLASSIFIED BULGARIAN ARMS EXPORT REPORT REVEALS
SALES TO SENSITIVE AREAS

Classified By: AMBASSADOR JAMES PARDEW, FOR REASONS 1.4 (B) AND (D).

[11.](#) (S/NF) SUMMARY: In a classified government report passed to us by a reputable NGO, the GOB summarizes the amounts and locations of all authorized Bulgarian arms exports for the period 2002-2003. The report has not been officially released yet and remains secret even though EU regulations require Bulgaria to make this information public. According to GOB export control officials, the report was completed a year ago, but the Bulgarian Council of Ministers has continually postponed its publication. The report states that as late as 2003 Bulgaria was authorizing substantial arms sales to sensitive countries like China, Guinea, Uganda, Yemen, Azerbaijan, Algeria, Rwanda, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire. END SUMMARY.

[12.](#) (S/NF) While the GOB has made important strides in arms export controls in the past four years by improving its regulatory framework and joining several international nonproliferation regimes, this report shows that arms manufacturers continue to successfully push for sales to sensitive areas. The report discloses 894,000 EUR in military exports to China during 2003. GOB contacts have told us that the items sold to China were artillery-launched radio jammers and not lethal military equipment. Other sensitive sales include large unspecified arms exports to Yemen, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea. The latter being well known as a transit zone for weapons going into U.S. and UN embargoed Liberia.

[13.](#) (S/NF) The GOB authorized 90 million EUR in arms exports in 2002 and 72 million EUR in 2003. Exports to India and Algeria amounted to 75 percent of sales in both years. Most of these weapons sales, 55 percent, were for ammunition of various types; 26 percent were for weapons with a caliber of 12.7mm or smaller; and 11 percent were for bombs, torpedoes, shells and rockets. The report given to us includes only the summary, so no exact weapons systems details are given.

[14.](#) (S/NF) 2003 Bulgarian Weapons Exports
(top ten export areas - amounts in EUR)

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| India | 25,466,491 |
| Algeria | 21,436,733 |
| Russia | 5,322,558 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 4,660,573 |
| USA | 1,382,158 |
| Afghanistan | 1,329,869 |
| Georgia | 1,282,955 |
| Poland | 1,119,679 |
| Iraq | 1,024,262 |
| China | 893,661 |

[15.](#) (S/NF) 2002 Bulgarian Weapons Exports
(top ten export areas - amounts in EUR)

| | |
|---------------|------------|
| India | 44,128,732 |
| Algeria | 16,129,857 |
| USA | 5,980,086 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 5,216,873 |
| Jordan | 3,609,334 |
| Yemen | 2,798,856 |
| Macedonia | 1,538,697 |
| Congo | 1,464,657 |
| Guinea | 1,456,938 |
| Azerbaijan | 1,010,042 |

[16.](#) (S/NF) The report was passed to us by Philip Gounev from the Sofia-based NGO "Center for the Study of Democracy" (CSD). CSD is a well-respected and established NGO and Gounev is one of their top arms control researchers. Gounev told us he originally received the report from Zoya Dimitrova, a locally prominent journalist who specializes in arms trade

investigations. We are convinced of the accuracy of the report, and it corresponds with other information received through intel channels.

[17.](#) (S/NF) COMMENT: Bulgaria has made impressive strides to improve the legal structure of its export controls, however

the political and economic pressures to authorize arms sales to its traditional clients in Africa and the Middle East remain. The reluctance of the GOB to publicly release this report indicates the lack of political will to make this traditionally shady part of the Bulgarian economy transparent once and for all. It also highlights the tension between Bulgaria's political commitment to international arms control regimes and the economic pressures to allow arms sales to sensitive countries in the developing world.

18. (S/NF) A more detailed list of countries Bulgaria exported arms to in 2002-2003 is available from Poloff Leon Lowder, email: LowderLC@state.sgov.gov.